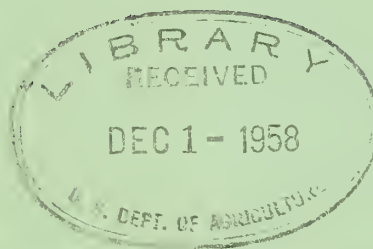**Historic, Archive Document**

Do not assume content reflects current
scientific knowledge, policies, or practices.

WORK GROUPS

ON PROGRAMS FOR

"TWEEN - AGER"

(OLDER 4-H) MEMBERS

National 4-H Conference

June 1957

Washington, D. C.

U. S. Department of Agriculture . Federal Extension Service

WORK GROUP I

DEVELOPING A 4-H PROGRAM IN CAREER EXPLORATION

Suggested Content for Objectives of a Career Exploration Program for Club Boys and Girls

1. Create an awareness of many occupations available.

2. Show importance of and analysis of self in selecting a life work.

3. Show sources of help and guidance in the various occupational fields and sources of specific information in the field of special interest.

4. Show importance of adequate preparation for the job desired.

5. Show means of getting experience and training in the fields of special interest.

6. Develop the proper attitude for work.

Suggested Content

1. Knowledge of occupational fields

   a. Major occupational groupings
   b. Grouping according to interest
   c. Level of ability required
   d. Value of job tryout
   e. Study of a specific occupation

2. Study of Self

   a. Why people work - job satisfactions
   b. Recognition of individual differences
      (1) Abilities
      (2) Interests
      (3) Needs
      (4) Health
      (5) Personal traits
      (6) Attitudes
      (7) Values - what do you want to get out of life.

   c. Achievements
   d. Family expectations

3. Formulating a Plan

    a. Weighing alternatives
    b. Establishing broad goals
    c. Tentative choices
    d. Testing out the decisions or choice
    e. Job adjustment

Helpful Tools and References

1. "Toward Broader Horizons" (Career Explorations) 4-H-49 (4-56) -
   Federal Extension Service

2. "Careers Ahead" - Land-Grant College Association

3. Visual Aids

    a. Study of job
    b. Study of yourself
    c. Sources of job information

4. Vocational Films

5. Vocational Library

    a. U. S. Department of Labor, Washington, D. C.

       Occupational information for counselors - a bibliography
       Occupational Outlook Handbook

    b. Office of Education, Washington, D. C.

    c. Science Research Associates, 57 W. Grand Ave., Chicago 10, Ill.

    d. Extension Service circulars and bulletins.

Other Resource People

1. State, county and local Employment Service managers and counselors.

2. School counselors

3. Civic and service organizations - such as Junior Chamber of Commerce

4. Other youth organizations having vocational programs

5. Public relations personnel in industry

Recommendations

1. That Mr. Banning and Mrs. Murray further consider and refine this material and make copies available to the States.

2. That an attractive folder be made available not later than September 16, presenting primary recommendations, charts, and reference materials on career explorations.

3. That the USDA provide a minimum of two "Occupational Outlook Handbooks" (1957 edition now being published) for each State 4-H office and that consideration be given to providing additional copies to the States at cost.

Work Group Membership

Chairman - O. F. Gaebe, In Charge, 4-H Club Work in Agriculture, Ill.
Secretary - Geronimo Chavez, Assoc. State Club Leader, N. Mex.
Consultant - Mrs. Evelyn Murray, Consultant on Youth Services,
            U. S. Employment Service, Dept. of Labor, Wash. D. C.

Charlotte Conaway, Asst. State Club Leader, Md.
Burton S. Hutton, State 4-H Club Leader, Ore.
Dan Warren, State 4-H Club Leader, Idaho
Carl Brooke, National Committee on Boys and Girls Club Work, Chicago

Plus 23 State 4-H delegates.

WORK GROUP II

DEVELOPING 'TWEEN AGE TALK OVER (DISCUSSION-TYPE) PROGRAM

The 4-H Club program has been based, since its inception, on a useful work project. The interpretation of useful work has been in terms of the boys and girls, their needs and their situation. Programs for tween-agers will be successful if this concept is continued. Beginning 4-H Club members are most concerned with working with their hands. Older boys and girls are more concerned with working with the head and heart. Programs offering work of the latter kind should be available to those interested. This would be of primary interest to most boys and girls 14-20 years of age.

All members of the committee have had or know of successful experiences in this area of discussion-type projects and programs. This offers possibilities for tween-agers in camp programs, short courses, district laboratories or workshops, county-wide meetings, community meetings, State club member planning groups and as an organized project within a State or county.

It is recommended that the following should be considered when a State or county staff is planning to initiate a tween-age discussion-type program:

A. Type of Leadership

   For the group leader a versatile enthusiastic person near enough
   to tween-group age for understanding but old enough to have ex-
   periences and knowledge. Any age is acceptable if the individual
   is young in spirit. On a particular meeting a person with some
   special knowledge or skill is essential.

B. Training Leaders

   Leaders will need training in the following areas:

   1. Understanding this age group.

   2. Understanding principles concerned with how to organize.

   3. Knowing methods and procedures in leading discussion groups
      and getting group involvement.

   4. Knowing the resources available.

C. Possible Resource People

   1. Extension agents and other staff members with special training
      such as those who have attended the human development or
      communications workshop.

   2. Local government officials and youth agency personnel.

   3. Successful parents.

   4. Professional workers - ministers, doctors, etc.

5. College personnel from such departments as sociology, child development, education, psychology.

6. Leaders successful with teen-age groups

D. Materials Needed - Printed and Visual

1. Needs and interests of different age groups in visual form

2. Listing of possible resources

3. Suggested guides for discussions on topics of general interest to this group but not a stereotyped program.

4. Material on various methods used in getting group involvement.

5. A compilation of research, studies and knowledge available in this area.

E. Project Requirements

All indications point to the fact that a tween-age talk over type program is worthy of consideration as a project. A State desiring this as a project should determine the requirements for itself. As in other projects the requirements should be such that they challenge the individual as well as being related to his or her own needs and situation.

F. Size and Composition of Group and Area Served

1. Large enough so that the members of the group feel like they are part of a group but small enough for discussion and group interaction to take place. In a large group you pool ideas, for discussion a small group is needed.

2. Sex - both boys and girls in the group depending on topics discussed.

3. Age - if range of age is wide (14-20) and there are enough members, it would be wise to break into near age or peer groups. However, any breakdown should be kept flexible enough so that a boy or girl could join another group if they do not fit into their chronological age grouping.

4. Geographic area - State, district and county groups have been successful; community groups should be successful if they are not too small.

5. At times it might be advisable to have a grouping by socio-economic level.

G. Relation to On-Going Program

Any effort in a discussion-type project should be incorporated in the on-going extension program. As in any well conceived program, it is

advisable to try ideas in pilot counties or communities. It is possible to incorporate some of the discussion-type approach in many subject matter and activity areas.

H. Place of Incentives in This Type of Program

The incentives for this type program are built in the project. Opportunities for each individual to participate at his own level are a real incentive. Possibilities for greater participation such as: discussion leader, master of ceremonies, planning responsibilities for a meeting or overall program, community recognition for service rendered and tours taken as part of the program are all incentives. The rewards of inner satisfaction and personal development in this type of program are more significant than the material awards received.

I. The program areas most adaptable:

1. Career Opportunities
2. Personal Development
   a. Health, grooming - nutrition
   b. Public speaking - discussion groups and public talks
   c. Social relationships - dating, marriage, family
3. Citizenship
   a. Government - public affairs
   b. International - cookery, affairs, culture
4. Consumer Education
   a. Marketing
   b. Buymanship
5. Research Findings
   a. Household management
   b. Agricultural subjects - beef, dairy, conservation, etc.
6. Safety
   a. First Aid
   b. Home Nursing
   c. Water Safety
   d. Driving
7. Opportunities offered in 4-H Club work
   a. Projects
   b. Trips
   c. Records
   d. Awards Program

Work Group Membership

Chairman: V. Joseph McAuliffe, New York
Secretary: Peggy Wilsford, Tex.
Consultants: Dr. Elizabeth Douvan, Mich.
             Mrs. Montford, Girl Scouts
C. S. Shirley, Louisiana
Margaret Stevens, Maine
L. R. Dunson, Georgia
A. Mayoral Reinat, Puerto Rico
C. M. Chafee, Mississippi
Plus 20 National 4-H Conference Delegates

WORK GROUP III

ORGANIZATION OF THE STAFF TO INITIATE SENIOR 4-H WORK

A. Preliminary Comments:

1. In this discussion, we are thinking of a 'tween-age program in addition to the traditional 4-H program of club participation, projects, etc. (We would comment, however, that the traditional program, too, needs continuing critical analysis.)

2. In this discussion, the point of reference was the county program. In general, however, these ideas are adaptable to district and State situations.

3. The group was thinking in terms of a program for 'tween-agers which might be at the local club level, but would more likely operate across club boundaries, even on a county basis.

B. Guideposts for 'Tween-Age Program

1. 'Tween-agers want nothing more than to be adults. Thus they are interested in such things as vocational explorations. They resent the public impression that 4-H is for "kids." They need to feel important, are willing and able to assume responsibilities, and appreciate recognition.

2. While they want to be adult, they need the continual reassurance from adults. Adults working with them should assume the role of advisor, not leader. Adults should realize that they serve as an example or ideal for 'tween-agers. They should be responsible persons in whom 'tween-agers can confide.

3. The 'tween-age program should be program-centered rather than organization-centered. The element of organization is important, but should be informal and not elaborate.

4. At this age there is a trend from a desire for individual activity and recognition to a desire for participation and group recognition.

C. Procedural Considerations

1. The 'tween-agers themselves should determine the program. In working with them, we should emphasize that the group is responsible for their own program and actions.

2. Non-4-H members in this age group might participate.

3. Adults should be involved in an advisory capacity. We suggest couples, people who are "young at heart." Advisors should be invited to serve by the 'tween-agers.

4. All county extension agents must be involved, but the responsibility for program leadership should be designated.

5. County advisory groups and all leaders should be well informed as to the intent and operation of the 'tween-age program.

6. The State 4-H office should provide a cafeteria of ideas and materials.

D. Training for Advisors

1. There is a definite need for training, both formal and informal, in working with this age group, including information on their developmental needs and interests.

2. A question was raised regarding the term, "training," with a suggestion of the terms, "guidance" and "sharing of experiences."

Workgroup Membership

Chairman: Russell Mawby, Michigan

Robert S. Clough, Missouri
George E. Russell, Virginia
Anne Lee, Tennessee
Sarah Cureton, South Carolina
Lyman Dixon, North Carolina
John Stormont, Hawaii
E. Arlean Pattison, Washington

Plus 22 National 4-H Conference Delegates

WHAT DO STUDIES TELL US ABOUT 'TWEENS'?

By Dr. Elizabeth Douvan
Survey Research Center, Institute for Social Research
University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan

(Based on two studies contracted for
by the Boy Scouts and the Girl Scouts)

Introduction

This talk will cover two points:

1. Some general psychological differences between boys and girls in adolescence.

2. Differences between boys and girls with respect to specific interests and activities. (Important for programming)

The general psychological areas of difference to be discussed are independence and identity formation.

I. The Issues of Independence and Identity in Adolescence [1]

The field of adolescent psychology has traditionally been dominated by a bio-logical-developmental viewpoint. The finding of social anthropologists that many vicissitudes of adolescence are not caused by biological changes, but are wedded to puberty by cultural circumstances has brought modifications in the developmental approach, but has not decreased its primacy in the field.

It was natural for pioneers to assume a developmental framework from which to view this period, since puberty is marked by dramatic biological growth and the emergence of full sexual capabilities. But, like any viewpoint, it limits as well as defines the area of investigation. The developmental approach--with its age graded tables and careful efforts to measure norms of growth--has obscured or caused neglect of other facts of adolescent psychology.

So, for example, when we look at formulations of the challenges or tasks of adolescence, we find that sex differences are only slightly treated. We tend to view these adjustment challenges as consequences of reaching biological maturity in a particular cultural setting, and we do not distinguish (except in the issue of economic independence) between the tasks that accompany attainment of manhood or womanhood.

---

[1] The studies on which this article is based form part of a series of studies of youth and youth programs which are, in turn, part of the Communication and Influence Program of the Survey Research Center. Stephen B. Withey is the director of the Program and supervises all research within it. The studies reported were sponsored by the Boy Scout and Girl Scout organizations. The author's co-workers on these studies were Joseph Adelson and Carol Kaye.

In two recent studies we have gathered extensive data on adolescent boys and girls. One of the first results of these studies has been a reassessment of the importance of sex differences in adolescence--not only in the content and context of solutions of developmental tasks; but in the very nature of the tasks that are posed for boys and girls in our culture during this period. Specifically, our findings have led us to speculate that the issues of independence and identity--though crucial in the psychology of the adolescent boy-- are not as clearly stated for the girl in adolescence, and may not be posed for her at all until a later period of life.

Before presenting the material on which this speculation is based, a word must be said about the source of our data. They come from two national sample interview studies of adolescents. The first of these was conducted with a sample of 1,045 boys fourteen to sixteen years old in school; the second study has a sample of 1,925 girls in the 6th through 12th grades (ages 10 through 18). In both studies our samples were drawn by modified random methods, to ensure representation of the total population of children in the United States who fell in the desired age range and were attending school at the time. 2/ Each boy and girl was interviewed at school by a trained interviewer. The schedule of questions was standard, and consisted primarily of open-ended questions and projective questions. The children were encouraged to give full and free responses which the interviewer recorded verbatim. Interviews ran from an hour to four hours in length.

In the course of interviews, boys and girls of the same age revealed many similar concerns and problems, as well as many that were sharply different for the two sexes. We will consider only those aspects of the interviews which deal with independence from the family and the processes of identity formation.

The term independence is used to cover a number of separable issues in the life of the adolescent. It may refer to economic independence, and it is sometimes used to describe the fact that the child at this age is permitted considerable freedom to come and go, move about in the neighborhood or city, make many day-to-day decisions, and regulate minor affairs of his life on his own. In speaking of independence as a central issue of adolescence, however, reference is usually made to the process by which the child casts off infantile ties of dependence in relation to his family, and arrives at a more mutual and adult relationship with his parents. A central aspect of the process is the sloughing of external authority and a substitution of more internal and mature standards and controls. While the child's behavior is controlled directly by the parents, the adult must guide his own behavior (whether his standard be the peer group or the voice of his parents incorporated in full.) Adolescence is presumably the time for this substitution of more personal standards. It is this aspect of independence with which we will be concerned.

When we think of the adolescent development of independence, we ordinarily think of terms like resistance, rebellion, rejection of parental standards.

2/ The technique for sampling adolescents is a modification of the two-stage sample design used for selecting households for national studies of adults. In this case lists of schools were gathered for each of the Survey Research Center's 66 primary sample counties. Schools, classes within schools, and children within classes were chosen by chance methods. The sample design is presented technically and in detail in an article by Jane W. Bergsten, "A Sample of Girls from School Lists" (to be published in the Journal of Experimental Education, March, 1958).

In describing young people at this age, we have often compared them to the "negative two year old." Aware of his ability (and, at adolescence, the necessity) to control his own behavior, the child in either instance over-protests. Now that he sees that he can have his own view, he must for a while reject the parent's simply because it is the parent's. Still unsure of his independence, he must continuously reassert it; even at times, when he might prefer the parent's way if an innocuous person were to suggest it. His rule often seems to be: "Say no first, and then decide what you want."

This kind of behavior characterizes the child in conflict. He is both very dependent, yet rejecting dependency, and this emerges as the kind of patchwork pattern of compliance and defiance notable at adolescence.

When this is the pattern with adolescents, it bespeaks a real struggle with problems of impulses, control and regulation, and authority. The child is deeply engaged in the struggle to form for himself a standard and technique for regulating his own behavior. As he works on this important construction—and while he is not yet able to tame his own impulses—he must let the world know that, at any rate, he must do it. He will not acquiesce to control from sources he now distinguishes as external and so he rebels.

Difficult as the period of rebellion may be, it signals a significant process of growth in the child's capacity for self direction and internal control.

Now, there are numerous indications in our interviews with boys and girls that the adolescent boy is characteristically deep in the process of converting from parent-given standards to a new set he is constructing by rough and often painful steps. His opposite number in the population of girls, though gaining autonomy in areas like spending money and choice of clothes, is apparently not so burdened by struggle for personal controls. Rather than proceeding to construct her own standards and reject those of her parents, she seems to accept the standards of her parents and accommodate them to her more grown up self. While with boys the process is one of thrust, counterthrust, and construction—splitting the world into clearly defined camps of authority and self-direction—for girls the adolescent development of standards is much more commonly one of assimilation and minor alteration.

Rebellion is not the only means by which the individual may give up obeisance to external authority and develop internal standards, though it is one important sign of such change. A more internal and quiet method may accomplish the same end. In looking at our data, we will consider signs of internal concern over standards as well as external signs of rebellion to signal the growth of independence. Whichever path is taken it seems likely that recognition of the distinction between one's own and one's parents' rules—as opposed to a complete identification of oneself with the parental standard—is a necessary condition for growth of independence. Any indication of a clearly external view of parental authority will also, therefore, be taken as marks of emerging independence.

Boys are more likely to see parental rules as an external control on irrepressible impulses. When asked why parents make rules, for instance, boys more often say they do so to keep their children out of trouble (the implication being that without these controls, the children would be in trouble).

Girls, on the other hand, more often talk about rules in other terms. Parents make rules to teach their children how to behave, to give them standards to live by, so that children will know what's expected of them. For boys rules mean restricting the areas of negative behavior, for girls they mean direction and channeling of energy.

This difference is clear again in answers to the question, "What would happen if parents didn't make rules?" Boys emphasize trouble: "The children would run wild;" "get in with the wrong crowd;" "wouldn't go to school" (a third of all boys interviewed mentioned the last alternative, compared to two percent of girls in the same age group). Girls agree that the situation would not be good without parental rules. But they more often talk about the effect on society, on the children's health and welfare. They talk about what the unregulated life would do to children: "They'd be spoiled, insecure." "Their health would suffer." The boys talk about what boys would do—one can fairly feel the wish behind the word. Girls also more often think that if parents didn't make rules, the children would be able to manage their lives adequately.

We asked all of the children whether they had ever broken a rule. Boys more often reacted to this as a moderately foolish question. Of course they'd broken rules—or, as one irrepressible lad put it to the interviewer: "You kiddin, lady?" Girls more frequently sounded a note of disarming purity and acquiescence. They said they hadn't ever broken rules more often than boys, and more often said they had once broken one or that they supposed they had, although no incident came readily to mind.

One of the most impressive indications of the difference between boys and girls in their posture vis a vis authority comes from a series of projective picture-story questions. These consisted of a picture of a boy (girl) telling his parents he was going out with friends, a second picture in which the parents set a limit on the child's behavior, and a third in which the boy (girl) is shown with friends who are suggesting an activity directly counter to the parents' rule. Respondents were to supply answers for the parents, the boy to his parents, and the boy to his friends.

In the second picture of this series—in which the parents state the limit and we ask respondents to tell us what the boy would say—there is a striking difference between boys and girls. This difference is not one of autonomy—the two populations give approximately equal proportions of autonomous answers.

But the style of expression of autonomy is very different for the sexes. A quarter of the boys questioned the parental limitation—not hostilely or with any sign of real conflict, but with a freedom that implied legitimacy—compared to four percent of girls in the same age group. On the other hand, a third of the girls reassured the parents ("don't worry," "you know I'll act like a lady," etc.). Such answers were virtually absent from the boys' protocols. Now both of these answers reveal a freedom to express one's own opinions and an apparent parental tolerance and respect for the child's view. The boy objects to the stricture, the girl assumes that her expressed reassurance will calm the parents' apprehensions. Both responses reveal autonomy, but what different modes of response to parental rules: the boy opposes, the girl not only acquiesces to, but reinforces their regulation.

The greater compliance of girls is apparent in relation to other adult authority. They, more often than boys, want an adult club leader to be a decision maker,

and, in general, are rated more authority reliant than boys in their attitude toward adult leaders.

Several rather extreme indications of an external view of authority are also more frequently found among boys. Let me first describe these signs. We asked our respondents when they thought a boy (girl) might break a rule. Answers were generally of two kinds: those in which the rule is identified with and basically accepted, but broken because of some emergency or other external pressure; and those which imply a lack of acceptance of the rule. The most extreme example of the latter response type is the answer, "When he thinks he won't get caught;" "When his folks aren't around to find out." Here there is no sense that the rule has been internalized as part of the youth's own set of standards. Rather, he sees the rules as external obstacles imposed by the parent to be circumvented when the adults are not there as enforcement agents.

A second extreme response came in answer to the question, "What rule would you never break?" This is the answer that indicates that the boy or girl can't think of any rule--or says there is no rule--what he would not break.

And the third such sign came in response to the series of projective picture-story questions. A relatively small proportion of youngsters resolve the dilemma (i.e., being trapped between a promise to parents and pressure from peers) by adhering to the parental stricture--not because they feel bound in trust by their promise, and not even because they feel they shouldn't disobey--but on the sole grounds that they fear external punishment.

All three of these signs are extreme both in the highly external view of authority they imply and also in the sense that they are infrequent (thus deviant) responses. Nevertheless, what is verbalized by a few may be only a more extreme form of something felt by many. And the fact is that there is a significant sex difference in each of these signs, always in the same direction. While the answers are virtually never given by girls in the fourteen to sixteen-year range (never by more than one percent of the sample), approximately ten percent of the boys interviewed gave each of them.

Boys are, then, more likely to view parental rules as external, and to take a somewhat rebellious attitude toward them. In addition, we find that they are consciously more concerned about controls than are girls. In answer to two questions which reflect self awareness, boys show greater concern with establishing satisfactory standards and controls over their behavior. This is particularly clear in answers to the question, "What would you like to change about yourself, if you could--about your looks or your life or personality?" Boys give a higher proportion of internal responses. They would like to have better control of their tempers, be more responsible, be nicer to people, and particularly to their families. When asked what things are important sources of worry to them, boys again give more internal concerns than girls.

Why should girls be less concerned with controls and standards? Why are they apparently less actively engaged in establishing independence from the regulation of their parents? There are probably a number of reasons.

Girls traditionally are more closely protected by their parents than boys. Society (including the society of adolescent girls) grants this protective power to parents, in recognition of girls' greater need for buffers against

expression of newly awakened sexual impulses. Boys may be permitted some experimentation with sexual impulses, but girls may not, since the consequences of acting out are so much greater for them.

Girls recognize the legitimacy of parental regulation in this regard when they tell us what parental rules they would never break: a fifth of the girls refer directly to rules about boy-girl relationships, while boys never do. In discussing dating, girls not infrequently say that it is all right for a girl to date, as long as her parents know and approve of the boy.

Although girls may make a show of resenting so much protection as they enter late adolescence, they continue to acquiesce. Advisers in college dormitories hear girls complain about restrictive hours, but they are also familiar with the candid girl who admits her reliance of this external control: "If it weren't for hours, I'd never get any work done. I can't turn down dates, and I wouldn't want to be a wet blanket and insist on getting in early." Contrast this with the situation of boys in college: No one would advocate regulation of their hours, and, in any case, it is doubtful that any such attempt would meet with anything but abysmal failure. Girls do not insist on self regulation, they accept and absorb the standards of adult authority.

One other reason why adolescent girls do not show the same decisive and overt moves toward independence and an independent set of standards may, we feel, be that the identity issue is also postponed for them. Let us look at the identity processes of boys and girls during adolescence.

Establishing an identity means finding an answer to the question, "Who am I," and also consolidating a sense of the internal, continuous self in contrast to all that is external and changing.

The issues involved in identity formation weigh very differently for the two sexes. For a man the question, "Who am I" means in large part, "What is my occupation, my function, my specialty." For women the mode is expressed in different terms: "I am the wife of John Smith, the mother of three children and, perhaps, the most active gardener (or Scout mother or club woman) in the neighborhood." In other words, identity for the girl is much more tied to her sexual development and adjustment, her realization of feminine goals.

Now there is a crucial difference between these two identity challenges: one can train and prepare for an occupational role much more concretely than one can prepare for marital adjustment. While the boy may begin, at least, to aim his thoughts and plans toward his identity goal during adolescence, the girl is in a sense blocked from such purposeful preparation. She may emulate adult women in external and symbolic aspects (like wearing high heels), and she may learn housewifely skills. But she is not able to apprentice in the crucial area of maintaining a continuing and intimate relationship with a man with whom she will have children.

One other critical difference in the central identity issue of boys and girls is in the locus of choice. The boy may choose, more or less freely, his own occupation; the girl's "choice" of marriage partner is not an individual decision. In fact, she must also be chosen.

How do these differences manifest themselves in our interviews with adolescents? In general, in the fact that girls are both less absorbed with internal psychological aspects of self-definition, and less contentful and direct in their

plans for the future.

We have noted in the previous discussion of controls that boys are more concerned with this internal question than girls. In answer to the questions revealing self-concept, boys give more internal responses of all kinds than girls. They are more worried about personal achievement now and in the future, they wish for more ability, etc. Girls stress external aspects of the self: They wish for physical beauty and physical attractiveness, they worry about clothes, and appearance. Girls also emphasize acceptance and popularity as goals more often than boys. While the boy is actively looking for answers to the questions "Who am I and what will I be;" the girl seems to wonder, "How do I look and how do others see me?"

In their talk of the future, boys are very much concerned with occupational plans and decisions. The large majority have some occupational goals, have quite clear ideas about how to prepare for them, and their goals imply extended time perspectives and commitment to career lines. The goals may obviously change many times before adulthood, but, at any rate, the boys are clearly in process of exploring and choosing identities. They think about jobs in contentful terms: they have made their choices on the basis of interest in the work and an estimate of their own skills and abilities. They are very concerned with individual achievement—a motive appropriate to the importance of occupational life in their identity formation.

What is the situation with girls of the same age? We know from direct questioning that nearly all girls hope to marry. Yet when they are asked what decisions they will be making in the future and what they look forward to in the future, surprisingly few girls talk of marriage. Only a minority daydream about marriage and family roles. Their conscious thoughts are not focused on this central identity area, but are concerned much more often with the years and activities before marriage.

Girls most often talk about education and jobs when they discuss their future lives. But girls' educational and occupational plans obviously do not strike the central chord of identity that they reflect in boys. Many girls hope to go to college, but for most of them this is a social aspiration rather than a contentful part of job preparation. Boys much more often refer to particular courses of study or professional training.

The job choices of girls differ in a number of important respects from those of boys. They do not, for one thing, imply the same career commitment. Only about one girl in ten chooses a future occupation that implies extensive commitment. Most girls pick jobs that require only moderate or slight training, and jobs which could be held intermittently without serious loss of skill.

The content and interest of the specific job chosen also seems less important for girls than boys. They are more interested in jobs that provide a congenial social setting within which they can make friends and supplant the social life they leave when they finish school.

One other difference between the occupational plans of boys and girls: while boys' vocational choices seem to be at least partly determined by a realistic assessment of the boy's own capabilities and interests, girls' choices appear to be dominated more heavily by popular job images. There is a concentration of girls' choices in a few highly visible occupations (e.g., secretary, nurse,

teacher), while boys show no similar tendency. This may reflect the more limited vocational opportunities for women, but it also betokens less concreteness in measuring the job against personal capabilities.

Girls choose more glamour jobs than boys; and they much less frequently choose manual occupations, although a large proportion of the jobs actually held by women include manual work. In general, girls' vocational plans seem less concrete and less contentful than do boys'.

What does this mean? Girls do not talk much of their marriage roles, and they are vague and uncommitted about the jobs they discuss so much. We feel that this pattern might be called a defense against the crucial issue. Nearly all of our girl respondents want to get married. But the possibility of planning or taking concrete steps toward adjustment to the marriage role is so remote that they focus on the more immediate, less meaningful occupational role. Here, at any rate, is something one can know and experience step by step.

So, while both boys and girls must wait beyond adolescence for fulfillment and final settlement of the identity issue, boys at least may orient themselves clearly toward a particular resolution, and may begin acquiring skill and experience that will facilitate their eventual identity settlement. The girl, on the other hand, can do little about the central aspect of her identity until marriage.

If it is true, as we have speculated, that the identity issue is postponed for the girl until marriage, it may also be that marriage is the event that precipitates her independence from the family. As she establishes her own new family, the girl may find more areas in which she must make her own decisions and, in some cases, decisions which differ radically from those her mother made in a similar life setting. At this point, then, she may find herself needing to take the decisive steps toward independent standards that the boy apparently takes earlier in adolescence. In the meantime the girl absorbs what she can from her mother or other feminine models about adjustment to the role of wife and mother. And she apparently abides by and absorbs the parents' regulating standards of behavior.

Throughout this discussion, I have repeatedly referred to our speculation about sex variation in independence and identity development. This caution is advised since we have only preliminary findings from our studies and cannot yet draw firm conclusions. But these early findings are impressive, and will sensitize us to sex differences as we continue the analysis of interviews with boys and girls.

II. Differences between Boys and Girls in Interests and Activities

Two kinds of differences:

1. Those that reflect differences in rate of development.
2. Those that mirror differences in the adult sex roles.

Girls are precocious in social development:

        a. Date earlier
        b. Work earlier
        c. Belong to more clubs and organizations
        d. More interested in social activities - dances, parties
        e. Less interested than boys in sports, outdoor activities of all
           kinds, arts and crafts.

These differences raise a difficult problem when we face the task of programming for coed groups that are graded by age. Girls of one age are not interested in the same things that interest boys the same age.

Summary of Sex Differences in General Attitudes

Item	Population			
	Boys 14-16	Girls under 14	Girls 14-16	Girls over 16
1. Criteria for a Friend 1/				
a. nice, amiable	.29	.32	.20	.16
b. cooperative	.15	.20	.09	.06
c. trustworthy, loyal	.41	.31	.52	.46
d. sharing relationship	.29	.35	.37	.38
2. Closeness of Friendship 1/				
a. friend can be as close as family	.42	.58	.61	.68
3. Sources of Worry 1/				
a. achievement	.41	.15	.13	.10
b. popularity	.29	.37	.60	.62
4. Nature of Decisions 1/				
a. name some interpersonal decision	.18	.32	.32	.39
5. Work Experience 2/				
a. hold jobs outside home	.38	.43	.56	.58
b. work for own family	.08	.29	.12	.05
6. Decisions 2/				
a. occupation	.68	.54	.73	.66
b. armed service	.22	.01	.01	.02
7. Reasons for Job Choice 2/				
a. interest in work	.70	.49	.59	.66
b. work with people	.06	.11	.17	.21
c. social service	.06	.24	.23	.14
8. Job Criteria 3/				
a. steady job	.52		.48	.44
b. nice co-workers	.32		.53	.58
9. Educational Expectation 2/				
a. plan to go beyond high school	.51	.60	.58	.51
10. Selected Job Choices 2/ for boys; husband's occupation for girls				
a. blue collar	.29	.12	.05	.07
b. farming	.14	.04	.05	.04
11. Qualities Admired in Adult Ideal 1/				
a. work skills	.40	.25	.25	.25
b. character traits	.27	.17	.17	.19
c. personal qualities	.34	.74	.76	.74

1/ In each of these cases, the question was asked of only two thirds of the total sample.
2/ These items were asked of the total sample.
3/ This question was not asked of the younger girls.

Summary of Sex Differences in Activities and Interests

| | Population | | | |
Item	Boys 14-16	Girls under 14	Girls 14-16	Girls over 16
1. Proportion Who Date	.59	.17	.72	.91
2. Proportion Who Belong to Clubs	.69	.68	.83	.76
3. Preference for Coed Club				
a. prefer like-sexed	.42	.40	.27	.28
b. prefer coed	.37	.41	.53	.38
4. Activities Suggested for Club				
a. social activities	.33	.62	.83	.71
dances	.13	.18	.30	.26
parties	.13	.25	.27	.17
b. sports and games	.76	.39	.33	.32
c. outdoor activities	.48	.27	.14	.08
d. arts and crafts	.13	.08	.03	.03
5. Activities Check List Participation				
a. dancing	.60	.74	.85	.85
b. parties	.74	.84	.87	.91
c. card playing	.69	.78	.77	.72
d. camping and hiking	.60	.58	.48	.44
e. boating, sailing	.53	.37	.43	.44
f. arts and crafts	.58	.63	.45	.45
g. listening to radio, records	.86	.94	.98	.98
h. watching TV	.84	.95	.95	.95
i. reading	.76	.86	.88	.89
Number	(1045)	(844)	(822)	(259)